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Subject A STUDY OF POPE'S SATIRICAL METHOD WITH SOME COMPARISON WITH THAT OF HORACE.

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A STUDY OF POPE'S SATIRICAL METHOD WITH SOME COMPARISON WITH THAT OF HORACE.

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REPORT

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COMMITTEE ON THESIS

THE undersigned, acting as a committee of the Graduate School, have read the accompanying thesis submitted by Mr. Anders Orbeck,

for the degree of Master of Arts.

They approve it as a thesis meeting the requirements of the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota, and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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A STUDY OF POPE'S SATIRICAL METHOD WITH SOME COMPARISON WITH THAT OF HORACE.

It may be advisable, before entering upon our discussion, to preface a few words by way of introduction and explanation. "Satire", according to the definition of Heinsius, which has been accepted as the best by Alden, Schelling, Dryden and others, "is a kind of poetry, without a series of action, invented for the purpose of purging our minds; in which human vices, ignorance and errors, and all things besides, which are produced from them in every man, are severely reprehended; partly dramatically, partly simply, and sometimes in both kinds of speaking, but for the most part figuratively and occultly; consisting in a low, familiar way, chiefly in a sharp and pungent manner of speech; but partly also in a facetious and civil way of jesting, by which either hatred, laughter or indignation is moved." This definition, since it considers the form as well as the spirit of satire, may with some limitations be taken as a definition of formal satire, as it existed

in Rome and as it developed in England before the eighteenth century.

But satire is also at times a mode as well as a form, and "as a mode it is present in practically all literature, verse, drama, prose fiction and the essay".* And consequently it is almost inevitable that confusion should arise in the use of the word "satire" in specific instances. To be sure, when we are considering Pope's satires we have to do with formal satire. But the confusion is inherent. Formal satire, although a term restricted to a certain kind of literary production, is the more inclusive term. Besides "satire as a mode", which is after all the kernel of formal satire, it embraces a great many elements, which are far from being in themselves satiric. Such, for example, are the biographical traits, which are characteristic of Pope, Horace and Boileau, the dramatic character, seen in Horace, Pope and even in Juvenal, the easy, conversational style, etc. The early Latin significance of the word "satire", a hotchpotch, is suggestive as regards the elements that are brought together in formal satire. And considering that the purpose of formal

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* Schelling, English Literature during the Lifetime of Shakespeare, p. 316.

satire, the Latin as well as for example Pope's, was as much to entertain and amuse as to reform and instruct, these elements are all proper and legitimate.

In our present discussion, however, we are concerning ourselves not so much with satire as a form as with satire as a mode of pointing rebuke. And our immediate purpose with Pope is to find out, if possible, some of the means he uses in order to attain his effect. The discussion is based chiefly on the Moral Essays, only occasional references being made to his other writings, such as the "Rape of the Lock" and the "Dunciad" etc. The comparisons with Horace are by no means intended to be thorough and exhaustive, but they may suggest some of the things that are distinctively Pope's. This, it is hoped, may throw some light on Pope's relation to Latin classical satire.* The first section, on the materials in Pope and Horace, is valuable onle in so far as it gives an idea of the scope of the two writers.

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* The Development of Verse Satire in England under Classical Influence up to the time of Dryden has been treated by Alden (1899), while Native English Satire before the Renaissance has been treated by Tucker (1908).

I.

As Pope's admirers seek to exalt him above all others as a satirist, so his detractors wish to degrade him to a position of a mere slavish imitator of his Latin predecessor, Horace. "Pope's Satires, Epistles or Imitations of Horace are", says W. H. Williams,* "as far as matter is concerned, among the most unsatisfactory of his writings. They are neither one thing nor another, neither flesh, fowl, nor good red herring, neither Pope nor Horace, English nor Roman, original nor translation". Johnson in the account of Pope in his "Lives of the Poets" has a remark to the same effect: "Between Roman images and English manners there will be an irreconcilable dissimilitude, and the work will be generally uncouth and parti-coloured, neither original nor translation, neither ancient nor modern."

This view of the matter lays too much stress on the satires and moral essays as strict imitations of the satires of Horace. There is, as both Dr. Johnson and

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* W. H. Williams,'Pope and Horace', Temple Bar, 115: 87-97.

W. H. Williams point out, too great a difference between the flower of the Roman civilization and the flower of the eighteenth century civilization in England for anyone to attempt a very minute imitation, one that does not deviate ta all. Johnson himself was as imitative in his "London" as Pope ever was. Such an attempt would have resulted in the introduction of many things foreign to the age of Pope, which would have greatly diminished the vitality of his satire. Much of the satire would consequently have lost point and have been out of place. And it is not to be supposed that one, who has of all English satirists without question secured the greatest satiric effect, could have written without point. The fact is that Pope has unquestionably succeeded in satirizing his gae, and if it is done in the 'Horatian style', a borrowed, foreign style, with which everyone, however, was familiar, he thereby achieves only a greater comic effect, just as he achieved great comic effect by using the mock heroic style in "The Rape of the Lock."

It is not our purpose to concern pourselves with instances of imperfect adaptations, 'strained applications, inconcistencies, inaccuracies and misinterpretations' of the Horatian original, which are after all,as

far as the real value of Pope and Horace is concerned, only of a secondary importance, but it will be the first task to consider how far the materials, which constitute the objects of attack in Pope and Horace, correspond. This will not only give us an idea of the scope of the two writers, but also to a certain extent their background. We can then readily conclude whether Pope was, or could ha have been, slavishly imitative.*

The two vices, which Horace satirizes more than any other, are avarice and prodigality; the miser or the userer and the prodigal spendthrift are the commonest types. The first satire of Book I deals exclusively with discontent, which is at the bottom of both extremes, avarice and prodigality. Tantalus is the symbol of unsatiated, raging thirst, the type of man who "athirst gasps for the running stream that mocks his lips.** The slave

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* As regards the justice of Pope's attacks see Courthope's notes and introductions to the Satires in Elwin's edition.

** These passages are quoted from the translation of R. M. Hovenden.

of greed and Unmidus are types of the miser who

"--measured out his treasures by the foot;
So mean; he went apparelled like a slave,
And saw starvation stare him in the face
To his last hour."

These examples are rather types than individuals, and are merely introduced to illustrate a general theme. The second satire of the first book again treats of the miser, here in direct contrast to the rake typified in Tigellius, whose death directly occasioned the satire. Under various disguises avarice becomes the object of attack in many of Horace's satires. 'Greed, meanness and evil haunts' are attacked in the sixth satire of Book I, the subject of which is the Freed-man's son, himself, who cannot be accused of the above vices, as can the 'lubber sons of great centurians'; sordidness of living is ridiculed in Book II, satire 2, where Avidienus is introduced as the type of man who

"Munches dry cornels, olives five years old,
Washing them down with wine to verjuice turn'd;

And though with toga scour'd he celebrate
A marriage feast, a birthday or the like,
Drops with his own hands on his cabbages,
Out of the kitchen horn, to your disgust,
Foul smelling oil, nor spares his vinegar."

Navius is ridiculed as "letting his servants hand greasy waters to his guests". Again in the first satire of Book I the sordid saving and money-making, indulged in by the middle class particularly, is satirized.

Turning to Pope, we find the miser satirized in the essay "On the Knowledge and Characters of Men" in the persons of Shylock and old Euclio (the reference being to certain members of parliament), and in the first essay on Riches he comes in again for his share of the ridicule under various names, Ward, Chartres, Waters, who were all vicious and infamous characters of the period, Colehopper, His Grace (i.e. the Duke of Bedford), Uxorio, Turner, Wharton, Hopkins, Jophet, Shylock and Cotta*, while Pope ironically absolves the rich and miserly from the care of the poor, whom we should rather entrust to the care of

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* All but the last of these represent actual persons.

providence.

The subject of avarice is rarely introduced unless in direct antithesis to the opposite vice, prodigality. It is perhaps because these two vices are of such a directly opposite nature that they are so amenable to satiric treatment. In the second satire of the first book of Horace Tigellius, who is the object of the satire, is described as a special favorite with the Bohemians of both sexes on account of his lavish prodigality. In contrast to the sordid living of Avidienus in the second satire of Book II Horace satirizes very admirably the extravagance of luxurious living, which seemes to be an ever-present pitfall for Romans at all times:

"Can I persuade you when a peacock's served
Not to prefer it to the guinea-fowl?
No, for the rare bird bears a higher price
And shows a gaudy tail. What use in that?
You cannot eat the feathers you admire,
And all his splendors vanish when he's cook'd;
Yet this flesh to the other you prefer,

And let your fancy fool your palate thus.
What faculty enables you to tell
A jack-pike taken at the Tiber's mouth
From one between the bridges caught?"

In the fourth satire of Book II he satirizes the Roman epicure and ridicules the importance attached to the precepts of good cooking, introducing the (for comic effect) unexcelled picture of Catius*, who dilates with much unction on the art and precepts of cookery. Pope introduces this same Catius very breifly in his first moral essay. In his description of the banquet of Nasidienus (Bk. II, satire eight), the burlesque of which reminds us somewhat of the famous banquet scene in Smollett's "Peregrine Pickle", Horace again lashes the epicure in the burlesque figure of Nasidienus himself, and the vulgar ostentation, extravagance and meanness of thos whom rapid change in revolutionary times had raised to wealth and affluence. In satire five of Book II the fortue-hunter, partaking both of the nature, the meanness and

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* Compare the character of Syrus in Terence: Adelphi.

rapaciousness of the miser though veiling it, and at the same time of the lavish ostentation of the spendthrift, and the flattery of the hypocrite, is exposed with great bitterness as an example of downright baseness.

Pope in his two essays on the "Use of Riches" directs no small part of his satire against prodigality and extravagance. He exposes the bribery which wealth at times occasions, and satirizes those who use their wealth to buy kingdoms and empires. The South Sea Bubble is mentioned as a case of financial extravagance undertaken by those who planned to enrich themselves in a hurry. After treating of the miserly class he naturally introduces the spendthrift, whom he for the sake of contrast makes the son of a miserly father, and who spends a fortune either at the gaming table or on mistresses, and finally dies in want because of an obdurate pride which forbids him to earn an honest living. Cotta's son is pictured as a bankrupt, pleading his cause in the courts, while Pope with ironic compassion has the 'thankless country' turn him over to be dealt with according to her laws. In the second of these essays Pope shows how people of wealth led on by the vanity of expense and ostentation will squander great fortunes in

architecture, gardening etc. Poor Narcissa is described in one of the dramatic scenes at the close of the first essay as dying with the wish to be dressed in 'charming chintz and Brussels lace'.

But avarice and prodigality do not include all of Horace's and by no means all of Pope's satiric material. Horace satirizes in the gently ironic and whimsical vein of Charles Lamb the petty troubles of a town-existence, its endless interruptions as a result of having one's friends and neighbors too near to one's own home and of the constant increase in the number of friends without one's own consent, the idle gossiping, the tittle-tattle from a neighbor's house, the trivial topics of conversation; and he concludes, in his usual desire for contrast, by extolling the virtues of the country and by relating the story of the town and country mice (satire six of Bk. II). This reminds us of those passages in the Prologue and Epilogue of Pope, in which he professes a love for the quiet country life, where he is free to roam where and when he wishes without being troubled by vexatious flatterers. Horace again mocks the hurry and stir of court life in the sixth satire

of Book I. In a somewhat sterner spirit he chastizes those who utter uncharitable judgments against their friends (Bk. I, satire 3). In the seventh satire of the second book he describes the inconsistencies of people of the upper class:

"Priscus, one day three-ringed, bare-handed goes
The next, and shifts his badge from hour to hour;
Now grandly housed, now in some tout abode,
Of which a decent freed-man was ashamed.
A libertine in Rome, in Greece a sage,
Doomed by Vertummus to inconstancy."

and again in the third satire of Book I:

"Eccentric always: swiftly now he ran
As for his life, now he paced like Juno's priest
In solemn state. One day he had ten slaves,
The next two-hundred, grandly now he talked
Of kings and tetrarchs, then of simple fare,
A shell of salt, a cloak however coarce
That might suffice to fend him from the cold.
Yet if you gave a million to this man

Of simple wamts and habits, in five days
His chest were empty."

The eccentricities and inconsistensies of character such as these are much more abundant in Pope than in Horace. It seems strange that woman, the most inconsistent of human beings supposedly, should have been mentioned by Horace only once, namely in the eighth satire of Book I, in which he ridicules Canidia of the Epodes and the type of woman to which she belongs. Pope following the example of Juvenal and Boileau, writes an entiree satire on the character of women, in which he satirizes the chameleon changes of women's minds. He points out instances of contrarieties in the affected, those women who are most strongly marked and seemingly therefore the most consistent, such as Rufa, "whose quick eye attracts each light gey meteor of the park", while at other times studying Locke, or Sappho, who, though "at her toilet's greasy task", may later appear "fragrant at an evening mask". Contrarieties in the soft-hearted are ridiculed: Silia, who is "the frail one's advocate, the weak one's

friend", but who storms and raves because someone has observed a "pimple on her nose". Narcissa is represented as a woman who does everything because it is her whim: she "paid a tradesman once to make him stare, gave alms at Easter, in a Christian trim, and made a widow happy, for a whim". The artful and cunning, who "can awe without virtue, without beauty charm", are like "variegated tulips". The lewd and vicious are thus described:

"See Sin in state, majestically drunk,
Proud as a peeress, prouder as a punk,
Chaste to her husband, frank to all mankind,
A teeming mistress, but a barren bride."

The witty and refined women, who pretend to learning and knowledge, are exposed; such an one is Flavia, who has "too much sense to pray", and asks blessings of the stars instead of asking them of God, who speaks of death as "that sweet opiate of the soul"; or Simo's mate, both meekand obstinate, who "owns her fault but never mends, because she's honest and the best of friends"; or the woman "who laughs at hell, but cries 'Ah, how charming if there's no such place'"; or such as are forever engaged in

killing "those foes to fair ones, time and thot". The characters of Atossa and Chloe, included in this essay, are also of the same nature, only the satire here is sharper and more penetrating, because Pope is here portraying actual persons, whom he knew. These sketches, of which there are many others in Pope, will be considered more at length later on. In his"Essay on the Characters of Men" Pope ridicules the practice of lying for the sake of policy and of telling the truth for the purposes of deception, which is practiced by cunning men, while he satirizes those who "when fortune frowns, plunge into business, or shave their crowns". He makes the scarcity of virtue in high life the object of very keen satire. The first essay concludes with a succession of several dramatic scenes, in which he exposes gluttony, ambition, passion for the sex, extreme frugality, love of pomp, dress and appearance, and affected humbleness.

Both satirists indulge frequently in more or less abstract philosophical speculation., Horace makes fun of some of the practices of the Stoics and Epicurians, as Pope casts reflections on the philosophical system of

La Rochefoucald in his essay "On the Characters of Men". Horace sometimes discusses philosophical problems seriously, as when he sets forth the doctrine that a man of noble birth is as much a slave as his servant, unless he is master of himself (Bk. II, satire 7), or when he teaches that the wise man alone is free, and all others mad (Bk. II, satire 3). He scoffs at popular beliefs (Bk. I, satire 8), satirizes the popular music masters, the critics and poetasters (Bk. I, satire 10), and teaches the worthlessness of the claims of birth, while he defends himself (Bk. I, satire 6), as Pope defends himself against the charges and sneers brought against him on account of his obscure birth. Horace even distinguishes between self-assertion and self-respect (Bk. I, satire 9), although here the subject is so dramatically treated that we think it primarily a take-off on the parasite, the flatterer, the bore, with which we might compare Pope's very vivd and effective treatment of flatterers, parasites etc in the Prologue. Pope is ever making a great show of his philosophy. He begins his essay "On the Characters of Men" by setting

forth in a half cynical vein the impossibility of any attempt whatever to classify human nature, and ridicules in mock heroic those who attempt such a classification according to types: "But sage historian! 'Tis yours to have one action; one, heroic love." But this is only for the purpose of preparing the way, after the manner of all philosophers, for his own theory of the ruling passion at the close of the essay. The subject of the ruling passion he again introduces in the second essay where he claims that women have two passions: the love of power and the desire for pleasure. In the third essay "On the Use of Riches" he lays down rules of good taste: good taste is good sense, and in the same essay claims that Providence is justified in giving wealth to be squandered in the manner he has described, since it is thus dispersed to and shared with the poor and laborious part of mankind.

This exhausts practically all of Horace's satiric material but leaves us a considerable bulk of Pope' to consider. Pope's satires are full of political allusions, sometimes of a general character, but quite as often containing a very definite implication. In the first essay

he satirizes such men as Philip V of Spain and Victor Amadeus II, King of Sardinia, men who resigned their crowns and later attempted to recover them. He lashes flattery, "especially in a queen", whereby he not only strikes at flattery but also at Queen Caroline, of whom he disapproved. He satirizes members of parliament under various names, such as Umbra, Euclio etc., and contrasts the professions of men before an election to parliament with their conduct after their election. It seems strange that Horace rarely refers to bribery*. Pope among the evils and miseries occasioned by an abundance of wealth mentions money as bribing senates and betraying lands. This is not only lashing bribery but also Robert Walpole because of the corrupt methods he used to maintain his influence in parliament. He takes a rap at the Duke of Marlborough for receiving an annual bribe from the contractors of bread for the army to prolong the war against Louis XIV. Besides this, the court furnishes him with instances of corruption and bribery. Paper money, which had lately come into use, and the system of credit are ridiculed because they make dishonesty easier. In the same essay

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* Bribery is mentioned in the third Ode of Horace, ll. 9-16.

he ridicules the practice of sovereigns of setting up claimants for each other's thrones, and explodes at great length the South Sea Bubble.

False taste is only briefly mentioned in Horace in reference to the fashionable craze for pictures and other works of art; it becomes the object of attack in the greater part of Pope's second essay "On the Use of Riches". Horace did satirize the vulgar ostentation and extravagance of upstarts, but Pope goes so far as to lay down the principle that the foundation of good taste is good sense, which he then instances in architecture and gardening. He describes the false taste of magnificence, "the error of which is to imagine that greatness consists in the size and dimension instead of in the proportion and harmony of the whole, and in joining together parts incoherent or too minutely resembling or in the repetition of the same too frequently".* The character of Timon, which makes up a considerable part of this essay, is an example of thoughtless ostentation. False taste in books, in music,

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* Cf. Argument to Epistle IV.

in painting, even in preaching, prayer and entertainment, is exposed.

Summing up then,* we find that Horace directed his satire against social foibles, such as vanity and folly, meanness and baseness, avarice and sordidness, pedantry and pretention, the luxurious indulgence of the age, its passion of love, its love of pleasure, superstitionand fashionable craze for pictures, - in other words, morals and manners and the eccentricities of character, with occasional philosophical excursions. We find that Pope too attacked these things, but he lashed the sinner rather than the vice. Within this sphere there are only minor differences. Horace devotes more energy than Pope to ridiculing the luxury of the table among the rich and

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* It is to be observed that satires four, five and seven of the first book of Horace and the first satire of the second book have been omitted from consideration. Of these the second gives a narrative of a journey from Rome to Brundisium, and is not strictly satiric (i.e. in the restricted sense, with which we are primarily concerned), with the

wealthy, a form of indulgence in later times prevalent in Rome, while Pope treats more at length of the false taste of his age. These represent the conventional satirical materials which we find more or less in all satirists.* Consequently the agreement between Pope and Horace is not to be wondered in this case, nor charged against Pope. Schelling in a chapter on satire says, "Although the satire of any given age must commonly be read with notes in the next, as the conditions on which its allusions are based have lapsed into the half-forgotten past, its elements are remarkably constant and its subject matter changes very little from age to age."**

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exception of a few caustic remarks on persons met on the way; the third represents a contest of wit between a scurrilous Italian and a half-bred Greek and is more in the broad burlesque fashion of Aristophanes than satiric; the first and last (as well as the sixth and tenth satires of Book I) are apologetic in tone, containing Horace's defence of his use of satire against his critics.

* For an analysis of the material in Lodge, Hall, Marston see Alden: Rise of Formal Satire in England.

** Schelling, History of English Literature during the Lifetime of Shakespeare, ch. XVII: Elizabethan Satire.

But Pope is not limited to this field alone. It is to be observed that he makes much more of personal eccentricities, inconsistencies of character than Horace does. There is hardly anything in Horace* to be compared with the sketches in Pope. These sketches, all of which were pictures of living persons, did not always illustrate a single theme, as was characteristic in Horace, and were often, as we shall see later, written before they appeared in the essays. Because his sketches were actual portraits Pope was able to give them a greater variety of coloring. Ideal thinking and creation was more the field of Horace than of Pope.** We shall have more to say about these portraits when we come to consider Pope's method of characterization.

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* Horace often makes allusions to real persons, but they are, as Sellar points out, either notorious characters of past ages or such living persons as are held in public disrepute.

** Cf. this statement by L. Stephen: "Pope rightly aaumes that man is his proper study; but by man he means not the genus. 'Man' means Bolingbroke and Walpole and Swift and Curll and Theobald .." (Liv. Age, vol. 119, p. 773).

Again Pope satirizes contemporary politics and public affairs, while Horace never meddles with such. Pope generally posed as a non-partisan, but in face of the political point of much of his satire, and his associations with men of the type of Swift and others, he must be looked upon as an ardent, though publicly not an outspoken, Tory, that is, a member of the opposition. It is interesting to note that he addressed his epistles to men in sympathy with the Tory party. Sir Richard Temple, Lord Viscount Cobham, to whom he addressed his first essay, joined the opposition against Walpole in 1731 or thereabouts, having previously risen to some eminence under the Duke of Marlborough. Allen, Lord Bathurst, was one of the Tory peers created in 1711, and steadily supported his party against Walpole. The fourth Epistle is addressed to Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington, who joined the opposition in 1733. Robert, Earl of Oxford, to whom is addressed the fifth epistle, though not an out and out Tory, had at least suffered reverses at the hands of the Whig party. It matters little that Lord Cobham and the Earl of Burlington

had at one time been members of the Whig party. They were received the more quickly as the converts from a bad religion. Again, all through the satires we see Pope's political attitude. He hates Queen Caroline, attacks Walpole's administration and the methods he used to maintain his influence; he casts reflectionson the Duke of Marlborough's part in prolonging the war in France, and explodes the South Sea Bubble, which was primarily a Whig enterprise. Courthope in his biography says concerning Pope's epistle on the Use of Riches, "Party spirit too entered into the estimate of the poem. Walpole relied greatly on the support of the monied interest. His own methods of parliamentary corruption made him look upon the scandals of the commercial world with an indulgence that was blamed even by his friends. Hence the Opposition was no doubt forward in declaring that, in taking uo his parable against avarice, the poet was satirizing the vices of the minister and the venality of his supporters."*

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* Courthope, Pope's Works, vol. V, p. 241.

Pope was here acting in somewhat the same capacity as Swift was when he wrote his political pamphlets. In fact the pamphleteer was a common person in the age. Every man of letters sought alliance with some political party, and staked his hopes of preferment on the success of his party. On the other hand each political party was anxious to draw to its cause the support of literary men. It was as much an order of the day for political parties to have pamphleteers as it was in the middle ages for kings to have heralds. Pope, however, unlike the ordinary pamphleteer, made his attacks under a mask and not openly. Horace, we have seen, did not meddle with politics. Perhaps there was little occasion for him to do so: he was not, like Pope, a member of the opposition, but enjoyed the favor of the emperor's ministers. And the party in power is always the one that is subject to attacks, while it rarely makes any; an arrangement which compensates in a poetic fashion for the ill-fortunes of the opposition.

After this it is not hard to conclude whether Pope was, or could have been, slavishly imitative.

II.

It will now be our purpose to consider somewhat closely the style of Pope in order to note some of the particular means or mechanical devices he uses to attain his effects. Although the particular effect we are mainly concerned with is the satiric, it may be necessary incidentally to consider the sources of all his comic effects, since they are more or less involved and frequently strengthen the satiric point.

Dryden writing before the time of Pope, in his essay on Satire, considered verse satire as a species of heroic poetry, and Pope's Epistles are in a sense 'commentaries on the text'. Although these two species of poetry aim at opposite effects, the one being serious, sublime, the other merely masquerading in the serious and sublime, they are nearly allied as far as externals are concerned. The mock heroic masquerades, it assumes the garb of the heroic for humorous purposes, that is, it implies on the part of its author a perception of incongruities between matter as such and the interpretations placed upon it. It is readily seen, then, how

the mock heroic might be considered a species of the heroic, and how at the same time it is in full accord with the spirit of satire, the art of ridicule. It is only necessary to refer to the "Rape of the Lock" and the "Dunciad" to see how frequent this style of writing was with Pope and to see how effective he could make it. The Moral Essays, however, are not consistently in this spirit, although individual passages are, but certain elements or tricks of style abound, which are primarily, it seems, to be ascribed to the mock heroic method of writing; such are the frequent use of descriptive adjectives and the practice of capitalization.

The epithet is characteristic of heroic poetry and becomes the bow and shoulder-knot of the mock epic. At times Pope merely employs the conventional, colorless epithet, at other times he appropriates it for satirical purposes. That is, he applies adjectives that are pregnant with meaning. 'Full-blown Bufo' is satirized in the Prologue to the Satires (v. 232). The propriety of applying the epithet 'full-blown' to Charles Montague,

afterwards Earl of Halifax, becomes evident when we learn that this nobleman gloried in having works dedicated to him.* The epithet 'slashing', applied to Bentley (Prologue 164), refers to the manner in which Bentley treated Milton in his edition of that poet. (Bentley had, moreover, criticized Pope's translation of the Iliad as "good verse, but not Homer".) In these

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* Courthope informs us (Works of Pope, Vol. III, p. 259, note 1 and 2, p. 260, note 6) that he was made much of by Addison in his account of the Poets, by Steele in a dedication to the Spectator, by Tickell in a dedication to his Homer. Originally the satire referred to Bubb Dodington, but the application is equally appropriate: Welsted dedicated a comedy to Dodington, and later on one of his odes, and Theobald dedicated the Double Falsehood to him.

and other similar instances* the manner is that of commendation, the matter anything but that. The satire is evident: it is praising a man for something everybody would consider a fault or weakness.

But we can see an extention of this use. The epithet, coupled with a proper noun, becomes an adjective pregnant with meaning. In some instances the satiric sting is lacking in the epithets: some are applied in mock praise and admiration, some in close imitation of the classic examples, some in mock pity and some in a

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* Cf. further: Poor Cornus (Prologue 25), Granville the polite (ibid. 135), knowing Walsh (ibid. 136), well-natured Garth (ibid. 137), courtly Talbot (ibid. 137) mitred Rochester, gentle Fanny (ibid. 137), piddling Tibbalds (ibid. 164), prating Balbus (ibid. 276), phantom Moore (Dunciad 219), sweet Celia, great Atossa, plain Parson Hale, Old Cato ("On the Characters of Women"), unhappy Wharton, dying Hopkins, old Nurses, modest Gage, lone Chartreux, great Villiers, wanton Shrewsbury, sage Cutler ("On the Use of Riches").

spirit of familiarity.* The mock heroic, involving more fancy and imagination, was Pope's earliest field. His Satires were among the last of his writings, so that it is easy to see how he may have continued some of his earlier practices in his later works. The change in this instance was not unnatural. The adjective, or epithet, was somewhat neutral at first, it then became significant by referring to some particular event, as is seen in 'slashing Bentley' etc. The perfection is reached when the adjective becomes a quiver, so to speak, containing the poisoned arrow, the force of which is qualifying, and sometimes directly antithetical to that of the word it modifies. Examples are such phrases as: 'timid friend', 'half-approving wit','suspicious friend', 'timorous foe' etc. In view of the spirit in which Pope writes, the adjectives in such phrases as 'furious foe', 'damning critic' can hardly be taken at their face value. There is half a suggestion that the critic, the foe, the wit

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* Cf. "old Cato", "sweet Celia" etc. with such modern expressions as "old fellow", "old man" etc.

are overdoing themselves in order to become damning, furious and half-approving. We may also mention such phrases as 'perjured prince' and 'Godless regent', although here the rebuke is direct.

Capitalization is usually accompanied by more or less mockery. The effect is that of materialization. Virtue, Innocence, Fortune, Fashion, Lucre, Ambition, Envy and Sense are made to parade before our eyes as though they were no such things as abstract qualities. The implication may be that these qualities have become something more than abstract qualities, in fact, little Gods. Pope's attitude throughout is that life is decidedly prosaic in its motives and main-springs of action, while men talk of exalted ideals, noble thought etc. This divergance Pope does not rebuke directly; he exposes it to ridicule by mockingly elevating what underlies the practice into the position of the sublime. Again capitalization by personifying and making concrete and personal creates a contrast between the infinite and finite, between the abstract and concrete. On the basis

of this contrast some investigators explain a great many laughable things.* On the other hand it elevates the trivial, the insignificant to the grand, the important and sublime: vices, capitalized become virtues, and every one who can show a capital beginning is a God.

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* The theory of J.P. Richter and his followers is that humor and the comic in general implies a perception of the contrast between the finite and infinite, between the concrete and abstract, between the particular and general, between the common, ordinary and the sublime etc.

Epithet and capitalization* is not to be met with in Horace to by any means the same extent. Horace did not write in the mock heroic spirit, consequently there was no room for him to use the epithet and capitalization. His is a saner, less extravagant manner. But the tendency to concreteness, to visual details is characteristic of Horace as it is of Pope. Satire, we must remember, is essentially a prosaic exposition of life. Its methods are prosaic. The earliest satire

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* It may be remarked here that Pope used every opportunity to mimic the classic writers, adapting their phrases, introducing details which reminded of those in the classics, copying their characters etc. This is particularly evident in the "Rape of the Lock". But it was all done for the purpose of ridicule. Cf. L. Stephen's remark: "Nobody has ridiculed more happily the absurdities of which we sometimes take him to be a representative. The recipe for making an epic poem is a perfect burlesque upon the pseudo-classicism of his time. (L. Stephen, Pope as a Moralist, Liv. Age. Vol. 119, p. 777.)

dealt with common, ordinary subjects in a very conversational way. Its pictures were often homely, its images and illustrations suggested the infinite and sublime only by contrast. Pope speaks of Lucullus "when frugality could charm, roasting turnips in a Sabine farm", and of Chloe, "when she sees her friend in deep despair, observing how much chintz exceeds mohair", and of a "saint in crape being twice a saint in lawn". The implication in this, outside the present consideration, seems to be that the difference between the two saints is not so much due to their character and personality as to the 'crape' and 'lawn', an inversion which reminds one of Carlyle's philosophy of clothes. But we cannot help feeling there is some difference in the effect the two satirists produce. In spite of these homely details Horace nevertheless gives the effect of a harmonious whole, while in Pope these details strike us as strangely out of place and foreign to the rest of the matter. Pope does not seek primarily for a well-harmonized whole. Saints, such very vague abstractions, are coupled with crape and lawn, which are concrete terms, in such

a way as almost to imply that they belong together. A longer passage will illustrate this better. Observe this from the second satire of Book II of Horace:

"Avidienus
To whom his name, the dog, so aptly sticks,
Munches dry cornels, olives five years old,
Washing them down with wine to verjuice turn'd;
And though with toga scour'd he celebrate
A marriage feast, a birthday and the like,
Drops with his own hands on his cabbages,
Out of the kitchen horn, to your disgust
Foul smelling oil, nor spares his vinegar."

This, there can be no doubt, presents an amusing picture, one which we should all call ridiculous. With it now compare the following passage from the "Rape of the Lock":

"Whether the nymph shall break Diana'a law
Or some frail china jar receive a flaw;
Or stain her honor or a new brocade,
Forget her prayer or miss a masquerade."

There is a difference in the manner in which the two

satirists manipulate their details. Horace makes one after the other operate towards the same effect; with the exception of the mention of the marriage feast, birthday and toga, everything is ridiculous. There is a gradual piling up of details, which gives a certain massiveness to the effect. The ball is started and kept rolling in one direction only. Pope couples in the same line saint and crape, 'purling stream' and 'painted mistress'. He speaks of the great Anna sometimes taking counsel and -- sometimes tea, and of comets "becoming regular and Wharton plain, when nature is well-known". He speaks of Chloe, "while her lover pants upon her breast", carving figures on an Indian chest, or when she sees her friend in deep despair, observing how much chintz exceeds mohair, and again of "wretches hanging that jurymen may dine". It is very evident that Pope's method is not one of gradually piling, but rather of "sandwiching" in of details. The result is a more pointed contrast, a see-sawing between the high and the low, between the significant and the insignificant, between the serious and the frivolous, between the important and the unim-

portant, between the far away and the near, between the exceptional, marvelous and the common, ordinary. The result is so many more of the comic explosions per minute.

Another very frequent source of comic effect in Pope is the comparison, either implied or direct. This practice forms a conspicuous part of his satirical method, not so much because of its direct satirical import, although it may suggest a great many varieties of stings, as because it illustrates so clearly Pope's satirical turn of mind, here venturing sometimes into the extravagant. Comparisons in Pope are specific and often refer to insignificant creatures of the animal kingdom, and particularly to those that are the least harmful. The following instances will serve as illustrations:

1. In Epistle IV, verse 108, Timon is "a puny insect shivering in a breeze". The picture of this insect, who builds his home as large as a town, makes his pond more like an ocean, and the parterre a down, is to suggest the utter insignificance of Timon and such as he.

2. James Moore is introduced into the "Bathos"

as an example of frogs in poetry: "one who can neither walk nor fly, but can leap and bound to admiration, that lives generally at the bottom of a ditch, but makes a great noise whenever he thrusts his head above water".* In the same satire Pope divided the geniuses in the Profound into their proper classes, under the names of animals of different kinds, as flying-fishes, swallows, ostriches, parrots, didappers, porpoises. The flying-fish, for example, was "to typify the writer who now and then rises upon his fins, and flies out of the profound, but his wings are soon dry, and he drops to the bottom". This is almost the most extravagant of Pope's comparisons.

3. In the Prologue (89-90) Pope speaks thus of his critics:

"Who shames a scribbler? Break the cobweb through
He spins his slight, self-pleasing thread anew."

Pope here commends their industry, while he suggests the value of the results, ridiculing thus their pig-headedness, which, he means to imply, is instinctive.

4. In the same essay he speaks of his critics as "word-catchers that live on syllables - commas and points". This implies a similarity with the insect mode

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* Courthope, Works of Pope, Vol. V, p. 220.

of living; birds are worm-catchers etc.

5. Again in the same essay (169-173) Pope humorously gives us his estimate of these critics:

"Pretty! in amber to observe the forms!
Of hairs, or straws, or dirt, or grub, or worms!
The things we know are neither rich nor rare,
But wonder how the devil they got there."

This certainly ridicules; it is like complimenting a lady on her beautiful garden, in preparing which she has had no hand, instead of admiring the one thing on which she desires and expects your compliments, her beauty.

6. Pope constantly refers to his critics as "creatures", either in the tone of mock pity, or in a belittling tone; cf. "no creatures smart so little as a fool" (Prologue 84), "the creature's at his dirty work again" (ibid. 92), "obliging creatures" (ibid. 119), referring to those scribblers who sought by flattery and attention to gain his favor.*

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* This line reminds us of the bore in the ninth satire of the first book of Horace, but here we find no comparisons.

7. The whole character of Sporus in the prologue, the most loathsome of all of Pope's portraits, is one extended comparison, or rather, a series of comparisons. Sporus is a "bug with gilded wings, white curd of ass's milk, painted child of dust" etc.

Most of these comparisons are made in reference to Pope's critics, the class of beings for whom he had the least respect. The effect is belittling. The implication involved in them is that such creatures are not moral beings, but rather automatons. Satire, we must remember, is in a way a moral estimate. Pope wished it to appear that his critics were small persons, too insignificant to be worthy of notice or capable of doing any harm. It was part of his attitude to the human race, as it was of Swift's. To the satirist no man is in so great a danger of appearing ridiculous as when he is pigheadedly intent upon a single object, particularly so if this object be an insignificant one. In a way the critics appeared to Pope to be doing this. And the most effective way to treat them was to refuse to take them seri-

ously. And so he pictured them as harmless creatures, though he was evidently annoyed by them at times. But when a man refuses to be serious, he can afford to be extravagant, can draw on his fancy, paint in glaring colors, exaggerate and distort; seriousness is the only basis on which people can with any certainty treat with one another. Pope's is a teasing method.

It is further to be observed that these comparisons - those dealing with critics - are the closest approach in Pope to the satire of invective. In the hands of an inferior satirist they might have gone over into the cheaper forms of direct ridicule. Pope's playful attitude saves him from being such an one, but it also prevents him from being effectively satirical. Direct invective is legitimate where it is backed up by a great moral indignation and earnestness as in the Old Testament prophets and in Juvenal. Pope's genius is not, however, in the invective, although invective is characteristic of native English satire, as of Pope's immediate predecessors, who followed Juvenal. Between Pope and Juvenal there is here an interesting contrast. In his more serious por-

traits, such as those of Atossa and Atticus, Pope is far removed from the invective and comparisons of the kind we have noticed. We can again refer to Chesterton's remark that satire to become effective and significant must recognize its victims as worthy opponents.

But comparisons of a different nature are also to be mentioned. Many are made in reference to woman. In the second essay (156) women are chameleons, because of their changing, unstable nature. In lines 27-28 of the same essay they are like "morning insects that in muck begun shine, buzz and fly-blow in the setting sun". In line 110 Pope speaks of Simo's mate: "No ass so meek, no ass so obstinate". He compares beauties to tyrants in that grown old they "hate repose and dread to be alone", and to hags in that, as these "hold sabbaths less for joy than spite, so they their merry, miserable night". "The fair sex", he says, pursues pleasure, as children do birds, still out of reach, yet never out of view". In another place he says man can enjoy strength in this one thing, "as fits give vigour just when they destroy". One of the finest strokes in all his satires is this couplet:

"Court virtues bear, like gems, the highest rate
Born where heaven's influence scarce can penetrate".

These comparisons show a great deal more restraint on the author's part than those before mentioned. They are in consequence more appropriate. It is a stroke of wit to mark the resemblance between women and chameleons, between beauties and tyrants and hags, between the pleasures of the fair sex and the birds of children, between court virtues and gems. Furthermore the comparison usually hides an arrow. Beauties might like to be thought of as tyrants: it flatters them; but they feel the sting when they are told wherein the resemblance lies. Court people would no doubt be highly flattered to hear their virtues likened to gems, but their pleasure would quickly cease when told the resemblance consists in their both being so far removed from heaven's influence. We recognize this appropriateness even in some of the lines on Sporus. Pope calls him a "well-bred spaniel, who civilly delights, but who dares not bite in mumbling of the game." Thus he compliments Hervey on his good breeding and manners, but makes the basis of these very manners a certain

harmlessness which Hervey would have been loath to acknowledge. Again Pope suggests his ignorance and superficiality by comparing his "eternal smiles", in which no doubt Hervey gloried, to the "shallow streams that run dimpling all the way". The difference is easily seen between this method and that of belittling the critics: the latter is more fanciful, the former more pointed, wounding while it flatters; they give like all of Pope's best strokes more than one bargains for.

We ought to mention here such phrases as "men and dogs" ("And men and dogs shall drink him till they burst"), "woman and fool" ("Woman and fool are two hard things to hit", and "Woman and fool must like him or he dies"), "husbands and lap-dogs" ("When husbands or when lap-dogs breathe their last"). These are by no means strict comparisons, but the coupling of "men" and "dogs" etc. together half implies a similarity between them.

Comparisons are less frequent in Horace, and are never of the pointed character. They are more like a literary flourish, serving the same purpose as they do in epic and in poetry in general: they give color rather

than point. An example will serve to illustrate the character of most of them:

".. jest may often wisely blend with truth,
As kindly teachers tempt an idle child
With sugar plums to learn his accidence."

Such comparisons are illuminating: Pope's are explosive as well as illuminating.

When we come to examine Pope's style more closely, we find that he has almost every form of wit: paradoxes, brief, pithy sayings, antithetical and balanced statements, neat and ingenious turns of expression, involving quick transitions of thought. In fact, there has rarely been a style so bristling with bright spear-points as his* , just as there has never been an age to compare as a whole with his in this same respect. The two qualities most prized in his period were brevity and antithesis. Pope himself informs us that he wrote the "Essay on Man"

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* Dr. J. Pike suggests the Latin Elegiac distich as the model for Pope's epigrammatic couplet.

in verse, because he could be much briefer in verse than in prose.* We may add in passing that such a style has its disadvantages as well as its advantages. In the first place brevity need not necessarily mean conciseness, and the brilliant effect of the whole may lead us to overvalue it. Too often, even in Pope, it conveys a one-sided truth, a half-truth, a single phase of truth, a deficiency which is partly concealed by its brilliancy. Its aim is point and not depth - at least it seemed to be so with Pope - and its value lies chiefly in its suggestiveness.

Almost the simplest form of wit in Pope, a form which we find in great abundance also in other writers, is the "annulling rider", a statement tacked on to some apparantly serious remark with the purpose of either directly contradicting it or making it appear absurd or ridiculous. It is the form most easily detected and most easily explained, while from it we can trace some elements

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* Swift writes he would have given anything to be able to write like Pope.

which seem to run through all of Pope's forms of wit. When he says of Wharton "he wants nothing but an honest heart", or of Chloe that she is all that is commendable except that "she lacks a heart", we are not in doubt as to what he means. It has almost the effect of the magician's wand: now it is and now it isn't; only there are a great many more ideas suggested to our minds which make for the comic effect. There is first the pretence of being serious, while everything is done in playful mockery. There is then the pretence of compliments and friendly overtures, while beneath is the intent to wound. There is also the satiric implication involved in the inversion of values: the thing most important is considered the incidental thing. The rider often takes the form of a qualifying phrase, a word of explanation, and becomes perhaps a little more absurd and extravagant. "Flavia's a wit", says Pope, and then adds, "she has too much sense to pray". Such an explanation in itself is absurd, if the two statements are considered in their logical relation, but if considered as two distinct statements it

gives us Flavia's chif characteristics in a nut-shell.

The contrast and rapid transition involved in these riders easily lead to the paradox. Compare these lines on Wharton ("On the Characters of Men": 198-203):

"A constant bounty, which no friend has made,
An angel tongue, which no man can persuade

A tyrant ot the wife his heart approves,
A rebel to the very king he loves."

and this couplet on Sporus:

"Beauty that shocks you, parts that none will trust,
Wit that can creep, and pride that licks the dust."

These are modifications of the rider involving on the surface such a contradiction of terms as to seem almost sheer nonsense: bounty which makes no friend is no bounty at all or some very peculiar sort. Generally speaking, Pope always considered human nature thus contradictory, but we need not be driven to this explanation. It was a constant habit with him to heighten the contrast and sharpen the antithesis. He sometimes lavishes mock praise in

profusion in order to make the annihilation in the end so much more spectacular. (Cf. "He lacks nothing - but an honest heart".) Or he opposes a man's own estimate of himself with the facts as others see them. Thus in his own estimation Wharton is - or wants to be - a tyrant, likes to pose as a rebel, to simulate a constant bounty, an angel tongue and Sporus walks the incarnation of pride, wit and beauty. The paradox consists in the ironic comment of the facts upon these pretentions. The ingenious and pithy phrasings only heighten still more the contrast. An inversion of this kind, equally funny, but which strikes the other way, is this line:

"A fool with more of wit than half mankind".

The paradox becomes grimly ironic, when Pope represents his characters as becoming through zeal the very thing they wish to shun, or as failing through zeal to attain the object for which they are laboring. When he tells of Wharton running the gamut of human follies, he explains "Twas all for fear the knaves should call him fool". He says again of Wharton "He's most contemptible to shun contempt", and of Addison "He's so obliging that

he ne'er obliged". Flavia has"too much thinking to have common thought". There is something almost grotesque and at the same time grim and sardonic in these pictures; they remind one of a dog pursuing in wild fury his own tail. Other examples may be mentioned:

"You purchase pain with all that joy can give
And die of nothing but a rage to live."

"You lose it in the moment you detect."

"Must then at once (the character to save)
The plain rough hero turn a crafty knave."

"In youth they conquer with so wild a rage
As leaves them scarce a subject in their age."

"Just writes to make his barreness appear."

There is hardly anything so pathetic and at the same time so ridiculous as a man who struggles and fights against fate, but is nevertheless without being aware of

it drawn into its meshes. His fate is a mocking comment upon his endeavors, which are often well-meant. Atossa "shines in exposing knaves and painting fools", but Pope represents her as being "whate'er she hates and ridicules". The dramatic scenes at the close of the "Essay on the Characters of Men" give the same effect. Tragic or dramatic irony partakes both of the pathetic and of the ludicrous. A remark Pope made on the very day of his death illustrates this very well. His physician had observed that his pulse was good and took notice of other favorable circumstances, to which Pope responded, "Here I am dying of a hundred good symptoms".

The most effective, that is, the most pointed, of Pope's paradoxes are such as these:

"Offend her, and she knows not to forgive,
Oblige her and she'll hate you while you live".

"Virtue she finds too painful an endeavor,
Content to dwell in decencies forever."

"Some men are open, and to all men known,

Others so very close, they're hid from none."
The contrast here is between traits of character rather than between circumstances, over which we have no command. The effect is comic, because by a mechanical device we are led to the same result by two directly opposite roads. Thereis a pretence at differntiating and distinguishing, while the result is a welding together and reenforcing. We shall observe later the effect of this in Pope's characterization.

But Pope has a less venomous stroke, which he uses whenever he pretends to be looking down from above, that is, whenever he assumes an air of superiority. It is interesting to note, that whenever he does so he is generally cynical. He speaks of Narcissa in mock-complimentary tones: "She's even been proved to grant a lover's prayer, and paid a tradesman once to make him stare, and made a widow happy for a whim." The implication is that these virtues were exceptional with Narcissa, and are rather meant to arouse our surprise than our admiration and respect. Or perhaps the comedy lies in his trying to explain - as though the practice of virtue needed justifi-

cation - on what trivial grounds a whimsical woman could condescend to virtue. Pope very often in mockery ascribes to very important things very trivial and absurd reasons, to weighty results mean and selfish motives rather than, as is the custom with most people, to explain important results by grand motives and great actions as having been premeditated etc. Satire is essentially a prosaic exposition of life and consequently does not concern itself with the sublime and ideal, which always exalts the hero and vilifies his antagonist. Pope even hints that it is difficult at times to distinguish absolutely between what is vice and what is virtue, between good and bad motives. The plain rough hero, who turned a crafty knave, had merely changed his mind, "perhaps was sick, in love, or had not dined". We puzzle at Caesar's retreat from Britain; Pope has it from Caesar "he was beat" or "merely drunk".

In the above discussion another quality of Pope's style will have been observed, namely, a neat balancing of phrases. This, however, is not inherently satirical. We can, for example, quote longer passages from the Prologue (cf. the lines on his father and mother), which

are as conspicuous as any for their neat balancing of phrases, but which are altogether devoid of any satirical import. But as so often happens, a quality, even though it is not primarily satirical, if it partakes at all of the nature of wit, serves to reenforce the satirical point. We have already observed Pope's great predilection for the use of adjectives. In such instances a balancing may make the satire one degree more effective, as in the lines, "A painted mistress or a purling stream", "A maudlin poetess, a rhyming peer", "A virgin tragedy, or an orphan muse", and "A teeming mistress but a barren bride". It is to be observed that whenever the balancing becomes satirical, a contrast is involved, and, indeed, constrast seems to be involved more or less in all the satirical thrusts we have considered. Compare further these lines:

"Atossa, cursed with every granted prayer,
Childless, with all her children, wants an heir."

and this couplet on woman:

"As hags hold Sabbaths, less for joy than spite,
So these their merry, miserable night."

and these lines on Calypso:

"Awed without virtue, without beauty charmed,
Less wit than mimic, more a wit than wise,
Was just not ugly, and was just not mad."

Contrast and antithesis seem constantly involved in Pope's method, and it is very evident, that, whereever he can render this contrast in the fewest words, he is the most effective.

It may be well to consider briefly from another angle some of the implications involved in the above discussion, or, in other words, to see exactly how Pope by these mechanical means and devices arrives at his satiric effect. Satire, we must bear in mind, is a moral estimate, implying a definite standard. Although, as Dryden claims, satire ought to seek to inculcate some positive virtue, which is the case frequently with Pope and Horace, its main business is to chastise. Of the three ways of doing this, the direct invective, the satirical narrative and the indirect ridicule, Pope uses most effectively the last, the indirect ridicule. He applies his scourge under the cover of pretences of praise. His

slap on the back is deceiving, it is not friendly and in the way of commendation, as it might at first seem. All through Pope, praise is bestowed in a variety of ways, but always in such a manner as to leave no doubt in our minds that it is not to be taken for what it seems. The use of capitals, descriptive adjectives and of epithets all imply praise bestowed in mockery. We are certainly in no doubt as to what the author means when he calls Addison a "furious foe". Qualified praise, as we have already hinted, is exceedingly frequent with Pope, (cf. "Pride that licks the dust", "Beauty that shocks you" etc.). It is almost more effective than out and out denunciation, because it is teasing, the victim does not feel sure whether the praise or the wound was incidental. Such half-praise, or indiscriminate praise, which is the effect in some of his passages, is peculiar to Pope, but still more peculiar to him is the dexterity and cleverness which enables him to pack the praise and the denunciation in so small a compass. His praise is like a laurel wreath granted on the condition that the recipient do not pry into its value, which is transformed into a

crown of thorns on the violation of the condition. Pope, like the mediaeval magician, counted on the violation.

Many variations of this simple method are to be observed in Pope. The author overpraises at times, thus elevating his characters, in order that their fall may be the greater; cf. the lines on Wharton "And wanting nothing - but an honest heart" etc. We shall see how Pope in his characterization arranges the traits of his victims in such a way as to neutralize the whole. He sometimes praises on a score, on which one is not worthy of praise (cf. his lines on the scarcity of virtue in high life), or on a score, which is not the one, on which the victims would like to be praised (cf. lines on Sporus, and the "insects in amber"). In the character of Narcissa he praises the practice of virtue which is prompted by bad, inferior or trivial motives (cf. "she paid a tradesman once to make him stare" etc.). We have seen how he likes to ascribe to grand, important events trivial, absurd motives or explanations (cf. the line on Caesar's retreat from Britain), to refer events of an opposite character to the same underlying motive (cf. "If fortune or a mistress

frowns, some plunge in business, or shave their crowns" etc.). We have seen how in the characters of Atossa, Wharton and Addison he approves their motives while he exposes their actions as mocking comments on them (cf. these lines: "shines in exposing knaves and painting fools, yet is whate'er she hates and ridicules"; Wharton for fear the knaves should call him fool, becomes a fool in every field, and is "most contemptible to shun contempt"). In treating of his critics Pope sometimes bestows mock praise (as is the case all through the "Dunciad") and sometimes merely suggests their insignificance, harmlessness, which we have seen is the effect of his comparisons.

III.

This brings us directly to a consideration of Pope's method of characterization. We have already observed that he is more personal than general, differing in this respect from Horace. Whereever he has to do with the conventional material - and as a satirist he must at times - he is far from showing his best strokes. Outside the fact that Pope's genius lay in personal satire, there are adequate reasons for this. General satire had in the time of Pope become almost conventional. The miser and spendthrift were already ridiculous characters, their very names were sufficient to raise a laugh. It would be difficult for any one to try to make a miser more ridiculous than most people already conceive him to be. And besides, the more ridiculous such characters could be made the easier it would be for the public to see vast differences between them and themselves. In other words the ridicule of the professional miser, spendthrift, fool etc. renders the rest of society secure: and the effectiveness of the satire increases the security.

But Pope's method was not primarily to satirize the miser, the glutton etc. as a type; he points out examples from the individuals of the age. When he satirizes the miser he does so in the character of Chartres, Ward, Shylock or some other such character. "General satire in times of general vice and corruption", Pope says in one place, "has no force; it is neither chastisement nor punishment." His purpose is to reform the people by acting on their sense of shame and their fear of ridicule. And so he professes, at least with some justice, to attack all persons alike, who expose themselves by their conduct to such treatment, whether they be churchmen or nobles, kings or peasants. And this was not only in order to give them all an equal chance, but that his satire might become effective. To attack vices might be amusing and entertaining to the public, but they would be no more affected than spectators are by a bull-fight. Vices have no feeling, and people are less inclined to become sensible by persuasion than by compulsion.

Satire likes to portray the fluctuating character, whose identity changes with every wind. This per-

son seems to be the normal type in satirical writings. Cf. this sketch in the essay "On the Characters of Men" (71-76):

"See the same man in vigour, in the gout;
Alone, in company, in place or out;
Early at business, and at hazard late;
Mad at a fox-chase, wise at a debate;
Drunk at a borough, civil at a ball;
Friendly at Hackney, faithless at Whitehall."

or these lines on Wharton (same essay, 184-189):

"Though wandering senates hung on all he spoke,
The club must hail him master of the joke.
Shall parts so various aim at nothing new?
He'll shine a Tully and a Wilmot too;
Then turn repentant and his God adores
With the same spirit that he drinks and w---."

Now compare the picture of Tigelius, which is the nearest approach in Horace to Pope's method, in the third satire of the first book of Horace:

"Eccentric always; swiftly now he ran
As for his life, now paced like Juno's priest
In solemn state. One day he had ten slaves,
The next two hundred; grandly now he talked
Of kings and tetrarchs, then of simple fare,
A shell of salt, a cloak however coarse
That might suffice to fend him from the cold.
Yet if you gave a million to this man
Of simple wants and habits, in five days
His chest were empty. He outwatch'd the stars
At night and snored all day: never was man
So inconsistent."*

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* Compare further these lines of Juvenal's third satire (Dryden's translation) on foreign coxcombs in Rome:

"Poor refuge^e at first, they purchase here,
And soon as denizened, they domineer;
Grow to the great, a flattering, servile rout,
Work themselves inward and their patrons out.
Quick-witted, brazen-faced, with fluent tongues
Patient of labors, and dissembling wrongs.

The implication in sketches of this kind, which seem to be the favorite picture with satirists, is that

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Riddle me this and guess him if you can,
Who bears a nation in a single man?
A cook, a conjurer, a rhetorician,
A painter, pedant, a geometrician,
A dancer on the ropes and a physician;
All things the hungry Greek exactly knows,
And bid him go to hell - to hell he goes."

Cf. also Johnson's lines on the same class of people in his "London", which is in fact an adaption of Juvenal's third satire:

"Well may they venture on the mimic's art,
Who play from morn till night a borrow'd part;
Practis'd their master's notions to embrace,
Repeat his maxims, and reflect his face;
With every wild absurdity comply,
And view each object with another's eye;
To shake with laughter ere the jest they hear;
To pour at will the counterfeited tear."

the person, who is so easily half a hundred things in turn, is in reality not much of anything. A jack-of-all-trades has nothing basic in him - else he would not be a jack-of-all-trades. He is like an air-castle, as insubstantial as transient.

Pope modifies this method in his portraits of Atossa, Chloe, Addison and others. The effect in these we cannot help feeling is more penetrating. The conventional satirical picture is couched more or less in formulas, that have lost whatever subtlety of distinction they may originally have possessed. The result is that the large aspects of character, which are also more obvious, rather than the infinite complexity of character, constitute the matter exposed in conventional satire. At the time of Horace satire was not yet conventional, but it is hardly to be supposed that satire could any more than other forms of literature escape the stereotyping process. Pope broke loose from the circle by concerning himself with living characters who were anything but types. This extended his field beyond the larger aspects of character; it opened up to him the conflicting

emotions and passions that surge within the individual.*

We have already observed that contrast and antithesis is inherent in Pope's satirical method, and we might expect to find it in his characterization. He analyses the person's character into its most obvious elements, which for the sake of greater contrast he suggests by means of concrete terms. The order and arrangement of these traits is again based on contrast and antithesis: one commendable trait is contrasted with one that is depreciatory etc. Compare these lines on Chloe:

"She speaks, behaves, and acts, just as she ought
But never, never reached one generous thought.
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Of all her dears she never slandered one
But cares not if a thousand are undone."

or this couplet on Atossa:

"Shines in exposing knaves and painting fools,
Yet is whate'er she hates and ridicules."

or the lines on Addison:

"Willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike,
Just hint a fault, and hesitate dislike,

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* For this very reason, perhaps, Pope lacked that ideal knowledge of human nature, which makes Horace so genial and delightful. L. Stephen's remark, quoted on page 26, seems essentially true.

Alike reserved to blame, or to commend,
A timorous foe and a suspicious friend."

Sometimes the order is merely such as to balance one extreme against another, as in this passage:

"A youth of frolic, an old age of cards,
Fair to no purpose, artful to no end,
Young without lovers, old without a friend;
A fop their passion, but their pride a sot,
Alive ridiculous, and dead forgot."

or this line:

"Too rash for thought, for action too refined."

This arrangement, which seems to be constant in Pope, produces the effect of annihilation or neutralization. Pope was given to overpraise, not only for the sake of mockery, but also for the sake of contrast; by qualifying his praise he made it worth nothing. His method was one of shuffling values. Or to express it in another way, he sought to represent the characters with all that which they pride themselves on possessing, and then to make them seem as though they were nothing. He explodes his characters, with much the same effect as when one ex-

plodes a soap-bubble with the prick of a pin.*

Satire's chief aim is to render ridiculous, to make a person feel himself ridiculous, or to see another in that light. A man, who has a sensitive nature, and a rather high opinion of himself, is never so easily wounded as when told he is both wise and foolish. The fact is, half praise, or qualified praise is often as effective as complete denunciation, such as invective employs, because every one feels sure in the latter case that the truth about his character has not been fully grasped or else it has been woefully distorted.** The result is, such satire is often not effective. Neither Pope nor Horace, we have

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* There are without any doubt disadvantages in this method. He could not always give the whole character, since only those traits which are suitable for purposes of contrast would be selected; the desire to contrast the extremes might lead him to omit qualities that lay between.

** See G.K. Chesterton, Pope and the Art of Satire.

seen, uses invective, but there is still some difference between the two on the point of effectiveness. Horace's satires are general and abstract; the examples he introduces are extremes in vice and notoriety, who have come to be regarded as typical characters. All that is said about them is against them: they are bad characters in every respect. Now, no one will go about making comparisons between himself and such a character. People are amused at, but do not identify themselves with, typical characters. In Pope, however, the strokes come singly; the sting lurks amid other matter, and one cannot help but feel that it may be in some way applicable to him. He laughs too, but for a very different reason; he wants to show others a clear conscience.

IV.

It may be interesting in this connection to conjecture, if possible, the literary genesis of Pope's character sketches. Many of them were to begin with only isolated portraits, which Pope later changed and inserted into larger works, as the plans for these suggested themselves to him. The characters of Rufa and Sappho ("On the Characters of Women") appear, for example, in the single character of Artemesia* published in the Miscellany of 1727. Similarly the characters of Narcissa and Calypso (in the same essay) are drawn from the single character of Sylvia** in the same Miscellany. The portraits of Atossa (ibid. 115-150), Philomede (ibid. 68-86) and Chloe (ibid. 157-180) were not part of the essay as it appeared in 1735.

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* Courthope, Pope, vol. III, p. 97, note 3; vol. IV, p. 435.

** Ibid., vol. III, p. 98, n. 5; p. 99, n. 2; vol. IV, p. 469. It may be added that in the Miscellany of 1727 Umbra, Macer and Sylvia are called "characters".

The first two of these were certainly written before 1733, while the date of the composition of Chloe is uncertain.* But before these portraits were incorporated into the edition of Warburton in 1751**, that is to say after the death of Pope, Chloe had been published separately in the octavo edition of 1738***, and Atossa had appeared in folio sheet in 1748****. In the Miscellany of 1727 again there were two portraits, "Umbra" and "Macer", which were called characters; Sylvia too was included among them. All these belong with Pope's portraits of Atossa and Atticus both as regards form and general spirit. - The satire on Atticus was probably written during Addison's lifetime, perhaps even as early as 1715 (it had been made known to Atterbury before 1720), and

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* Courthope, Pope, vol. III, Introd. to Essay II, p. 93.

** Courthope, Pope, vol. III, p. 76.

*** Ibid., vol. III, p. 107, n. 1.

**** Ibid., vol. III, p. 77.

was published in 1723, and twice in 1727 before it appeared in the Prologue where it now stands (151-174).* Concerning the satire on Bufo (Prologue: 231-248) Courthope remarks, "The character of Bufo was very likely written in the first place separately, like those of Atticus, Macer and Umbra, and was grafted on to the Epistle without due regard to the context".** And again, "It is possible that the character of Bufo was written at some period previous to the appearance of the Verses to the Imitator of Horace, (that is, before March 1733 (The Prologue was published in answer to the "Verses to the Imitator of Horace")); it belongs to the same class as the portraits of Umbra, Macer and Atticus, and may like the two former have been originally one of several satirical portraits painted in accordance with Atterbury's recommendation.*** - Again Pope wrote a character on the

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* For a full discussion see Courthope's Pope, Vol. III, pp. 231-36, and Appendix IV.

* Courthope, Pope, vol. III, p. 259.

*** Ibid., vol. III, p. 236. - Atterbury's recommendation is contained in a letter to Pope of Feb. 26, 1721, after he had read his Atticus, "Since you now therefore

Duke of Marlborough of forty lines, which was to have formed a part of the first Epistle in the quarto edition of 1735, but which he for some reason suppressed.* - Whether Pope acted on Atterbury's recommendation is hard to say. Certainly the Miscellany of 1727, some years after he had had this hint, contained many short poems, that are not altogether unlike the more sharply defined characters.**

This is perhaps sufficiant to show how greatly Pope was given to writing sketches at odd times to be

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know where your real strength lies, I hope you will not suffer that talen to lie unemployed" (Courthope, Pope, vol. III, p. 232).

* Courthope, Pope, vol. III, p. 87 and Appendix II.

** Compare such poems as "Celia", "On Certain Ladies", "On a Certain Lady at Court", (which has some resemblance to the Chloe of the second Essay), "On the Countess of Burlington Cutting Paper", "Bishop Hough", "On Mrs. Tofts", "Phryne" (which is in the same spirit as Artemesia); besides the briefer Epigrams and Inscriptions.

used later if occasion presented itself. And it is not altogether improbable that these earlier, detatched portraits are, as regards literary genesis, to be referred back to an earlier form the Character, which was much in vogue in the century preceding Pope and even in Pope's own age. The "Characters" of Overbury (1614) are described in the title page of the edition as "witty descriptions of the properties of sundry persons".* Later Overbury even tried to define a "character". "Character is also taken for an Aegyption hieroglyphicke, for an imprese, or short emblem; in little comprehending much, --- it is a picture (reall or personall) quaintly drawne, in various colours, all of them heigthened by one shadowing".** Such a definition might apply with equal force to the above portraits of Pope. It is interesting to note also that Joseph Hall wrote "Characters of Virtues and Vices" (1698) as well as the regular formal, verse satire; so

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* Overbury: Miscellaneous Works, ed. by Edw. F. Rimbault, p. 47.

** Ibid., p. 168-9.

also Butler, whose Characters were published posthumously. Butler likewise wrote a kind of"poetical Thesaurus", containing little sketches, in reference to which Thyer in his edition of 1759 says, "whether he intended ever to publish any of them, as separate, distinct Thoughts, or to interweave them into some future compositions, a thing very usual with him, cannot be ascertained."* This, we have seen was also very frequently the practice of Pope.

This form of literature was, furthermore, much in vogue during the age directly preceding Pope. Thyer in the preface to his edition of Butler's Genuine Remains says, "The writing of Characters was a kind of wit much in fashion in the beginning of the last century." That they were very popular is shown by the fact that fourteen editions of Overbury's Characters appeared in eighteen years, and six of John Earl's Micro-cosmographie in five years. It was a form of literature that might easily be indulged in by almost any one at spare moments. It

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* Butler: Genuine Remains, ed. by R. Thyer (1759), p. 228.

formed a kind of note-book into which ideas were entered as they came to mind. Persons like Butler and Pope, who reserved them in order to weave them into larger works of greater artistic form, must be allowed a higher degree of artistic sense than those who published their notations in the rough. Without their present form much in Pope and Butler would now perhaps be lost to us. Besides, the writing of Characters was much akin to the writing of Epigrams and Inscriptions. In great poets these were mere by-products; but many more indulged in them. All desired to be commemorated in epigrams.* And all these

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* The Duchess of Buckingham requested Pope to write a Character of her husband. Instead Pope wrote one on the Duchess herself, in which we can detect nothing but the highest kind of praise, even eulogizing her death, until we read in a footnote that Pope wrote the Character before the death of the Duchess. (Courthope, Pope, Vol. V, pp. 441-4). Cf. also the Introd. to John Earle's Micro-Cosmographie, "Generally throughout the seventeenth century there was a strong passion for analysis of human character. Men delighted in introspection. Essays and

forms were close to one another in one essential: they were witty descriptions of some sort or another. It is easy to see how they might turn to satire. Just as the epigram and inscription may have developed into the character, so the Character may have had some influence on the development of the verse satire of Pope and Dryden.

It is, however, to be remarked that the earlier Characters were far more general than personal, more abstract than concrete. Alden defines them as "satirical essays descriptive of human types"*, whereas Pope's we

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Characters took the place of the Romances of the former century . . . . . Essays deal with the permanent, internal, essential constituents; Characters with the passing, external, accidental aspects of men." (Earle's Micro-Cosmographie in English Reprints, ed. by Ed. Arber, 1869.)

* Courthope, Pope, Vol. III, p. 100.

have made out to be largely personal. But the characters were based on observations, as we learn from Overbury's attempted definition and the preface to Thyer's edition of Butler. Butler, too, was personal to a certain extent even in his Characters, and certainly he dealt with contemporary matters in his Hudibras. On the other hand Courthope holds Pope's statement prefaced to the essay "On the Characters of Women" to be literally true, in view of the fact that the three portraits of Atossa, Philomede and Chloe were not part of the essay as it originally appeared. Courthope says, "There is no reason to suppose that either Sylvia, Calypso or Narcissa were meant for exact portraits; the traits and incidents of reality probably formed the basis of the poetical creation."* And again, "The pictures of women it contains are evidently studied after the manner of the Aurelias and Leona of the Spectator, that is to say, partly from books. There is a sufficient element of fact in them to produce verisimilitude; many touches and traits are bor-

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* Courthope, Pope, Vol. III, p. 93.

rowed from real life, but the general treatment is ideal." In other words, the examples that Pope gives of the "affected, the soft-natured, the cunning and artful" etc., are but types of women. In giving them names, and in making the satire applicable to persons Pope has made them more distinct as well as a greater appeal to contemporary society. But we need not insist too strenuously upon this difference. There seems to be sufficient warrant to include the personal sketches in the same class and to regard them all as a development of the earlier Character. The more personal nature of Pope's portraits is only in keeping with the analytic treatment of human nature which, according to Alden marks the beginning of the age of Dryden and Pope, and which was entirely lacking in the classical satirists.* The change from the typical to the individual, which marks the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was but a continuation of the change from the abstract and general to the typical which marked the centuries immediately preceding.

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* Alden, Rise of Formal Satire in England under Classical Influence, p. 245. - Schelling in his chapter on Elizabethan Satire in his "History of Elizabethen Literature" states that the earliest Characters were modelled on some sketches of Theophrastus.

V.

We have now to consider somewhat Pope's literary procedure 'at large', as distinct from the stylistic tricks we have considered above. First, there is the manner in which he treats his critics. We have already hinted that there is here an interesting parallel between Pope and Horace. Horace's defence, however, differs in tone and method from that of Pope. The Roman satirist contends that his predecessors had been granted freedom in the use of satire (Bk. I, satire 4), that one is certainly entitled to speak his own mind frankly (Bk. I, satire 4), that his satire is no more malignant than the "ordinary distractions of society", that artistically the style and manner suit the simple matter, that those who most deserve censure are the very ones who object to its use most strenuously;* he justifies his attack on individuals by the example of Lucilius (Bk. I, satire 4), and claims he

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* Cf. Pope's couplet in the Prologue:

"A lash like mine no honest man shall dread,
But all such babbling blockheads in his stead."

is more critical in his style than Lucilius, writing rather for the few than for the many; he answers the sneers made at his birth, and explains his relation to his patron as one of mutual esteem rather than servile dependence (Bk. I, satire 6). In other words, "The tone of Horace is modest and apologetic; he shelters himself behind the example of Lucilius; he hints pretty plainly to his critics that if they attack him they will find that he has powerful friends".* His method is direct argument and reson rather than ridicule.

Pope, on the contrary, is throughout vehement and aggressive. He does not fall back on his predecessors to justify himself; instead he impudently suggests that he is in fact better qualified than they are to use plain speech, because of his independence. This is in a measure true. Even though he was often personal and bitter, and even though he fell short of the professions he was constantly making, he always discerned the moral standard of the age to be deserving of rebuke.

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* Courthope, Pope, vol. V, p. 270.

In all his dealings with the critics Pope was invariably ironic; indirection was his method. Nowhere does his ironic spirit show itself so clearly. It seems that this was his ultimate resort, whenever it was necessary for him to make a stand, or whenever he had to face circumstances the issue of which were uncertain. But it was his endeavor also never to appear to take such a stand. He treated his critics as dunces, not, like Horace, as men who are his equals or at least have the right to be heard. They were to him insignificant creatures, little insects, harmless, but pretty and amusing. Pope may have feared them; else why did he think it necessary to attack them! What he would have us believe is that they were nothing but annoying flies. This droll method was very effective: when a man refuses to be serious, he can afford to be almost anything and still be safe; retaliation is impossible.*

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* For the prodigious effects of the"Dunciad" see Courthope, Pope, vol. V, p. 227. "The Dunces were for the moment annihilated" etc.... This recalls the story told by the

This mocking, ironic, teasing method is obvious in the Prologue to the Satires as well as in the wholesale slaughter in the "Dunciad". He represents the poets and scribblers as appealing to him, submitting their packets, poems and tragedies etc. for his approval. In words of unmistakable mockery Pope pretends to be beset for a time by difficulties in making his judgments. He weighs scrupulously and carefully, and at length gives out his disapproval reluctantly, as though with tears in his eyes, while inwardly amused at their chagrin. In one instance he even goes so far as to approve of a tragedy, but insinuates he is running no risk: his approval will mean certain death to the piece, since the manager, who is none other than Cibber, is sure to disapprove of anything that comes to him recommended ~~to him~~ by Pope.

Again, among his other practices in dealing with his critics, Pope seems to have found it particularly amusing to represent them as raging, yet innocent, furiously spouting, yet harmless. The roaring lion in the den

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ancients of a man, who, having once smarted under the satirist's pen, hanged himself to anticipate a second misfortune.

is laughed at as long as one feels safe and secure. The critic who "fumes and stamps and roars and chafes" without effecting any wound is quite as ridiculous as the man trying to demolish a mosquito with a shot-gun. Dennis "raves in furious fit", Sporus "half froth, half venom, spits himself abroad", Atossa's rage is the only passion of hers that was ever gratified, women "conquer with a wild rage", and Wharton "dies of nothing but a rage to live". Pope expresses his meaning quite plainly when he says, "A fool quite angry is quite innocent".* The word "rage" recurs in Pope's satires more often than any other word; "creatures", which is also used very frequently, carries with it the same significance. And all his comparisons and metaphors, as we have seen, have somewhat the same effect. In one place he even insinuates that such fools become ten times worse when they repent of their folly. The cringing, nibbling parasite is as mean and despicable as the growling critic. Only in one instance do we have anything of this

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* This suggests the saying, "the bark is more dangerous than the bite".

kind in Horace, and that is the satire dealing with the bore.

All of this is only a part of Pope's satirical method which we can sum up in this famous line on Addison: "Damn with faint praise, assent with civil leer". He realized the possibility of "ridiculing beyond a thousand foes" by "dedicating in high heroic prose". This idea undelies the whole conception of the "Dunciad", in which Dullness is praised. It is a part of the mock heroic style, in which "The Rape of the Lock" is written. The more delicate satirical method of this earlier piece consists in indiscriminately praising fault and virtue alike. This practice, however, was not restricted to Pope; it was more or less common to the age in which he lived. Courthope speaks of the "Grub Street Journal", in which Pope, Artbuthnot and others were concerned, as being intended "to attack the ememies of Pope by ironically praising them and at the same time affecting to depreciate his own works".* This idea later led to the "Dunciad". We have only to refer to the "Testimonies of Authors" appended to the "Dunciad", in which he ceremoniously introduces certain well-known

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* Courthope, Pope, vol. III, p. 249, note to l. 110.

critics with a flourish,* to see that his real purpose in bringing them in at all was to kick them off the stage.** He is like a king who rids himself of a clown he has had enough of.

These are largely satiric tricks, however droll and grotesque they may be. But that Pope also had a marked turn for extravagance and fancy there is plenty of evidence to show. Pope's life was full of plans and schemes, ceremonies and maneuvers, undertaken to puzzle the public or to serve as a cover for himself. He wants to make the "Dunciad" a thing of no definite origin, a fantastic thing that would bewilder the reader; but within all this there was to be a kernel which those who sought long enough might find. And Pope knew how to estimate his public: they found it. In 1728 he writes to Swift, "The 'Dunciad' is going to be printed in all pomp, with an inscription which makes ne proudest. It will be attended

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* Cf. such terms as these: "the most ancient of critics, Mr. John Dennis", "our hypercritical historian, Mr. Oldmixon", "the modest and simple-minded Mr. Leonard Welstad", etc.

** Cf. these lines in the Prologue (66-69):

"Glad of a quarrel, straight I clap the door:
Sir, let me see your works and you no more."

with Proeme, Prolegomena, Testamonia Scriptorum, Index Authorum, and Notes (sic) Variorum. As to the latter I desire you to read over the text, and make a few [notes] in any way you like best; whether dry raillery, upon the style of the authors of the poem, or historical of persons, places, times; or explanations; or collecting the parallel passages of the ancients".* These are the tactics of the practical joker; Pope like Swift was fond of throwing from his heaven a gem done up in a vast amount of wrapping paper. It took two years of varied and extended maneuvering to bring out a "corrected" edition of the work. Pope had had the earlier "surreptitous" editions — which none the less he undoubtedly had some share in bringing out — champion in turn the "owl-frontpiece" and the "ass-frontpiece", each one claiming that its particular frontpiece was the genuine one. This was capital fun, and especially so since he could, for a time at least, hide behind the curtain and amuse himself without being seen. --- The "Essay on Man" he likewise published anonymously, partly through fear, as was the case with the

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* Courthope, Pope, vol. IV, p. 13.

"Dunciad", that it might not be well received, partly because it was the common practice of the age, and partly also perhaps because he wanted to amuse himself.* He was a little God who liked to expose his children to all sorts of trying circumstances, but who also was always ready to step forward and give them his protection, whenever it became necessary. As it happened it never became necessary for Pope to do this: his "children" usually had the good fortune to fall into reliable hands. When Pope stepped forward, it was rather to gather the praise and laurels others wanted but did not dare to claim. In this essay he purposely introduced a bad rhyme, "lane" with "name", to prevent himself from being too quickly discovered as its author. He even wrote under an assumed name to Caryll and passed judgment on his own poems.**

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* Note this earlier example of the same trick. Pope in answer to criticism on his "Pastorals" published anonymously in the "Guardian", April 17, 1713, an article in which he instituted a direct comparison between the pastorals of Pope and Philips, and awarded the palm of superiority to Philips, while the reasons he gave served only to render the works of Philips ridiculous.

** Courthope, Pope, vol. V, p. 243.

The critics praised it, not knowing that it was Pope's. One poor man fell into the trap Pope had set. He asserted it could not possibly be the work of Pope: he could never have perpetrated such a bad rhyme. Had this stroke been founded on truth, that is, had Pope really not written the the poem, it would have been worthy of Pope himself. Imagine the poor man's chagrin (and Pope's amusement) on his learning the real truth. It was rather droll thus to calculate the conduct of these honorable critics to such a nicety: they always lived up to his estimation of them. It was just such cleverness as this that won for Napoleon his fifty battles. — Courthope tells us that Pope at a later period of his life bound in four volumes the various libels on himself which he had collected.*

Although, as we have seen, Pope had no faith in the effectiveness of general satire, he was equally loath to admit that his satire sprang from personal motives. He professed to have a moral purpose in writing satire, as he himself expresses it, he was actuated "by the strong antipathy of good to evil". However, a consideration of

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* Courthope, Pope, vol. V, p. 217.

the manner in which the "Dunciad" was published will indicate that these professions were mere blinds — probably intended as such — for much that was grounded on personal animosities. Of this great literary satire we can form an estimate from the words of Courthope: "From all this we may infer that the animating motive of the satire was not the fervent indignation of the moralist against a set of wretches who were the common enemies of mankind, but resentment of personal injuries".* And further he adds, "The satire is therefore wholly devoid of the moral significance which the poet claims for it. It represents merely a quarrel between authors, literary genius being engaged on the one side, literary envy on the other, and unscrupulous bitterness and malignity on both".** Dryden in his essay on satire considers lampoons only justifiable in two cases: when the characters exposed are recognized as public nuisances (which was the ground on which Boileau justified much of his satire), and when there is no other effective method of treatment at hand. Pope was sharp

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* Courthope, Pope, vol. V, p. 217.

** Ibid., vol. V, p. 230.

enough to realize that he was employing questionable tactics,* but he could not suppress a piece of cleverness which was almost sure to add glory to himself and spread confusion among those presumptuous critics. Pope's sensitiveness had made him remember every thrust the critics had given him, he had treasured them as capital to be made use of later. He could not, however, answer each singly, they were too numerous. Besides, it would be greater fun to undo an army than e few individuals. But the occasion, so necessary to justify all personal satire, was not forthcoming. And so he proceede to invent one. "The point of the 'Dunciad' lay in its personality and Pope knew that a satire of this kind could only be justified, if it was supposed to be a weapon of self-defence." So he laid one of those plots, not infrequent with him, the operations of which he could calculate to a mathematical nicety. He sent out "Bathos, or the Art of Sinking in Poetry". It was a general satire, lively in legitimate literary criticism, in the midst of

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* Swift had at first dissuaded him from such an undertaking.

which he had tucked away a chapter devoted to the baldest personalities, a comparison of a number of living authors. No names were mentioned; capitals, blanks and asterisks alone sufficed. These poor authors smelled the rat, took unto themselves what they felt they were entitled to — a man is sensitive to nothing so much as to his own likeness — and rushed into print, publishing their "Popiad". Then was the appointed time; the laughing lion left its den and devoured the poor, unsuspecting devils.*

Pope no doubt desired to give the effect of a general, philosophical satirist, while at the same time he realized that his peculiar genius lay in personal satire. His more abstract speculations, concerning which he was himself no doubt deceived, were hardly anything but a cover intended to give a 'finish', a varnish to the balder personalities. The suppression of names, the substitution of others, fictitious or historical, or of asterisks, the use of capitals or blanks, of the indefinite pronoun or

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* Cf. also the means he took to get his correspondence published, all the moves and counter moves of which it is almost impossible to unravel.

of the plural, were all no doubt meant to indicate the application was not always restricted to one person. Moreover, the changes and alterations, which were frequent in every edition, are in one instance explicitly cited as proof of the general character of the satire. This veiling of the satire was one of the most constant practices of Pope. But the very means he used in order to secure this end also served for other purposes. For example, the alterations were perhaps partly occasioned by the poet's shifting animosities, which he gratified to a ridiculous extent.* The omissions of names etc., the practice of combining several sketches into a single one, the introduction of irrelevant material, were undertaken partly for the sake of puzzling the lublic and piquing their curiosity, while at other times he actually had fears regarding the reception of his works. Pope could estimate his public: they craved for personalities, particularly when they were veiled, since then it became everybody's business to discover the application in order to save himself. And

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* Cf. the dethronement of Theobald from the leading role in the "Dunciad" to make way for Cibber in a later edition of the poem.

so Pope knew very well how to secure his effect, while by these very means he could later claim that the satire had no personal application. It was always Pope's endeavor to do a thing without appearing to be doing it.

We may mention here very briefly some further traits that Pope and Horace have in common, although they belong primarily to a consideration of satire as a form, a literary genre, and are consequently only of secondary importance in this consideration. The dramatic character of the satire is evident in Pope and Horace. Some of Horace's satires are written in dialogue, and Pope achieves somewhat the same effect by addressing his epistles to various persons (as Horace does some of his epistles). Pope's third essay, it may be ermarked, was not originally in the dialogue form, but was altered in a later edition. The dramatic tendency is seen again in the brief but vivid scenes at the close of the first essay. The frequent use of capitals which personify, and metaphors which define more precisely, and concrete terms which individualize objects, all of which we have observed in Pope, operate to the same end: that is, to making the effect more vivid.

Stories and fables are frequently introduced, especially to inculcate a moral lesson, which satire, according to Dryden, should do; cf. the story of the town and country mice and that of Ofellus in Horace, the story of the Man of Ross and that of Sir Balaam in Pope. This tendency is perhaps more marked in Pope, because he writes more from pefsonal observations. Tucker speaks of the satire in the age preceding Pope as "tending towards the dramatic, striving to fulfil the true function of the satire - the picturing and the criticism of contemporary life".*

Both Pope and Horace tell us about themselves in their satires, and indeed, this is one of the early traits characteristic of formal satire.** It is closely allied to the apologies that Pope and Horace and others

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* Tucker, Verse Satire in England, p. 225.

** Ibid., p. 15: "Classical satire is not characterized by any fixed organism, but is remarkable for an extent of ideas which somewhat compensates for this lack of definite structure .... It remains largely a subjective poem .... and it drifts naturally into self-revelation."

have found necessary to offer to the public. The "Prologue" and the "Epilogue" are the works in which Pope shows this trait to the greatest extent. It is here also that Pope is least satiric; he can mention the names of many persons of his earlier acquaintance without wounding. He speaks of his own early life in the solitudes of the forest, and would have us believe, with some exaggeration, that he was dragged into the writing of satire. He tells us of his father, for whom he shows as much reverence as Horace showed for his, and of his mother, whom he immortalizes in touching lines. Pope was not entirely consumed with envy, malice and jealousy, however strongly these qualities may have raged within him. "He was not given to desert his friends", says Courthope, "when they were unpopular, and he was conscious of being maligned in this respect. He could praise Cibber, when he thought he deserved it; he was generous in his support of Savage; he exerted himself in behalf of Johnson; he wrote some of his finest lines in praise of Lord Oxford, when he had fallen from power".* Whenever chastisement is administered, however, the outcries of those who are being punished often rise above the voice of even a just reformer.

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* Courthope, Pope, vol. V, 227.

VI.

In conclusion let us name the things we have found particularly distinguishing about Pope. There is first his genius for personal satire, evident not only in his literary satire ("Dunciad") and in the political satire,* which makes up a great part of his works, but even more so in his sketches, such as those of Atossa, Atticus etc. These sketches, which we have considered in their relation to the earlier Characters, Epigrams etc., are in effect neutralizing. Secondly, we have seen that a great deal of his effect is due to his pithy, balanced, antithetical style. As satire primarily notes the discrepancies which exist between the ideal, theoretic and practice, between pretence and actuality, between motives and actions, - in fact, satire is out of place where there is no such contrast - so Pope by mechanical devices and tricks of style, paradox, balance, antithesis, contrast between concrete and abstract etc., accentuates this con-

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* Literary and political satire are, according to Tucker (Verse Satire in England, p. 223), the kinds of satire which are most given to personalities.

trast. Thirdly, we have noticed in Pope a large ironic conceeption running through a great part of his works, and taking the form of peculiar inversions, in moral judgments etc. It is a grimmer, fiercer irony than that we find in Horace, more like that in Swift. The attitude of Pope again is not the sympathetic, genial attitude of Horace, but rather that of a cynic.* Another feature, which is prominent all through Pope, is his attempt to veil and hide the application of his satire. He claims to be general, and not personal, and seeks to support his contention by the introduction, for example, of philosophical discussions, by making the satire applicable in several directions, by altering, transposing, shifting, suppressing, disowning, evading when he is put to the question. The reason for this was, as we have seen, twofold: he had fears regarding the reception of his works, and he really wanted to be considered a philosopher rather than a satirist, in spite of the fact that he realized that

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* Alden (in his "Rise of Formal Satire", p. 227) states that the pessimistic tone is conventional, and not altogether sincere and independent of convention in formal satire.

his strength lay in personal satire.*

It is difficult to attempt to make any generalizations regarding Pope's relation to Horace and to Classical satire in general. It must be remembered that classic influence had been operating in England in the field of satire for over a century before the time of Pope, so that many characteristics which were in the first place of classic origin were to Pope in a sense an English inheritance. Some attempt to fix Pope may, however, be suggestive.

First as regards resemblances. These are largely such traits as are characteristic of formal satire in general. Satire as a form fostered variety, and Pope and Horace share that variety which the name, as originally used, suggests. There can hardly be any question but that Pope was somewhat imitative in the autobigraphical parts of his satires. The reflective temper characterized the classical satirists. Early English satire, on the contrary, was not a

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*"Few satirists have been consistent with their own theories and those who indulged in personalities always disclaimed any reference to individuals." (Alden, Rise of Formal Satire, p. 237.)

at all reflective.* Juvenal was the model of most English formal satirists,** and Juvenal was less reflective and less autobiographic than either Pope or Horace. Angain, as regards literary satire, the native English product furnishes us very scant examples. This practice came into vogue in England at a later period, when the literary profession became more extensive, giving rise to shams etc. Alden states that literary satire was the characteristic undertaking of the formal, imitative satirists.*** We have seen furthermore that Pope and Horace

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* Tucker thus defines the typical medieval satire before the time of Wyatt: "a poem embodying political, religious and social subject matter; in tone didactic, severe, of little humor, of much invective, employing mainly the method of direct attack, with little individuality and little picturing of contemporary life; practicall formless." (Verse Satire In England, p. 226.)

** Alden, Rise of Formal Satire in England, p. 224.

*** This refers to the "take-offs" on false literary taste, pretences etc. Cf. L. Stephen, Pope as a Moralist, Liv. Age, vol. 119, p. 781. Attacks on critics, evident in both Pope and Horace, are nowhere so monumentally planned as in the "Dunciad".

are alike free from the invective, the direct method of chastisement, while early English satire was largely invective, and the early formal satire in England also, since the imitative satirists followed Juvenal rather than Horace. Irony and humor were not characteristic of native English satire, and the presence of these traits, particularly irony, in the formal satirists is to be ascribed no doubt to classical influence. In Pope the irony becomes grim, more constant and not near so genial.

As regards the materials of the satire, we have noticed one great difference, the absence of political satire in Horace and the great amount of it in Pope. "It is in the treatment of public affairs", says Alden, "that satire is freest from classical influence and borrowed form".* Remembering that political satire was characteristic of early English satire, we see the significance of this difference between Pope and Horace. — The things that distinguish Pope also indicate wherein he differs from Horace: in the personal character of his satire, in his bristling style, in his great ironic conception, and in his practice of shifting and veiling his satire. Of these

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* Alden, Rise of Formal Satire in England, p. 233.

the last is characteristic of Pope, the third is shared (and to an even greater extent) by Swift, the second was the literary tendency of the age, and the first was a revival and development of elements of medieval satire. According to Alden, the witty treatment of contemporary events and the analytic treatment of human nature, elements that had their origin back in the Elizabethan period, were revived and greatly developed in the writings of Pope and Dryden and the men of their age. But these elements were the very ones the formal classical satirists chiefly missed.* What these writers further did was to add the dignity, the conciseness, the polished form, the calmness, the reflective and critical temper of the Latin satirists.

Pope, then, not only made use of the conventional satirical material, but satirized also political and public affairs, thus reviving elements of native English satire. He abandoned the method of invective, employed by the early English satirists, and secured his effect by the ironic, or indirect method, here following to a certain degree Horace, although Pope's irony is of a different variety, grimmer

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* Alden, Rise of Formal Satire in England, p. 245.

and more constant. In point of style Pope merely carried to perfection the pithy, epigrammatic style which was the ideal of the age. The heroic couplet, in the use of which Pope was not, however, the earliest English writer, may have been suggested originally by the Latin elegiac distich. The reflective and critical temper, which is often a mere pretence with Pope, is not characteristic of native English satire, while it is of Roman satire. What is peculiarly Popesque is his practice of veiling his satire in various ways, and his genius for personal satire.